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Cover: Statue base honouring M. Vettulenus Civica Barbarus (see p. 175, n. 208).
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Contents

Vesta and Athens*

Mika Kajava

In what follows I am going to argue that from Augustan times there was not only an ideological but also a physical link that connected the Roman Vesta with the city of Athens, the Acropolis in particular. This observation is based on the interpretation of some Athenian inscriptions as well as the re-reading of various literary sources. First of all, an attempt will be made to define the ideological role of Vesta in Athens and, as far as possible, to give her a place in the archaeological and historical reality of the city.

The memory that Vesta and her cult were of foreign origin was generally kept alive by the Romans, and in fact there is every probability that they were right. Vesta and the Penates seem to have had a sanctuary (in common?) at Lavinium and moreover there were various - and complex - traditions of different age that linked this place together with those deities as well as with Aeneas and the Trojan origins of Rome.[1] Even if the Roman Vesta, goddess of the hearth and protectress of houses, had probably developed from an ancient, indigenous deity (with some fairly universal characteristics like the association with fire[2]), it remains plausible that a well-established form of the cult of Hestia (with some aspects in common or later associated with Vesta) really did arrive in Rome through Lavinium (and Cumae) together with other cults of eastern origin (e.g. the Dioscuri, whose temple was dedicated in Rome in 484 BC). In fact, the Roman *interpretatio* of Hestia may have occurred already at Lavinium, one of the centres from which Greek cults and other Greek influence began to penetrate Rome. It seems that Carmine Ampolo[3] was right when he argued in the early seventies that the phase of the archaic Regia in the Roman Forum that was built around 500 BC was largely modelled upon the contemporary Prytaneion complex of the Athenian Agora (i.e. the one later destroyed by the Persians). The rebuilding would roughly coincide with the traditional fall of the Etruscan dynasty and the subsequent emergence of the Republic, and furthermore it would appear as if the Romans had been influenced by what was happening in Athens: about 500 BC, in the aftermath of Cleisthenes' reforms, the Pisistratid Prytaneion was partly replaced by a new complex which manifested the victory of democracy over tyranny. And just as the *arkhon basileus* was closely connected with the Prytaneion and the *koine hestia*, the Public Hearth (which were both under the protection of Hestia), similarly the Roman *rex sacrorum* resided by the sanctuary of Vesta and supervised her cult, whose foundation was traditionally attributed to King Numa, and which is archaeologically attested within the Regia complex

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1 The literature on this topic is abundant. For Vesta and Lavinium, see e.g. A. Dubourdieu, *Les origines et le développement du culte des Pénates à Rome* (Coll.EFR 118), Rome 1989, 292 ff.

2 G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1974², 322.

3 C. Ampolo, 'Analogie e rapporti fra Atene e Roma arcaica. Osservazioni sulla Regia, sul rex sacrorum e sul culto di Vesta', *PP* 26 (1971) 453 ff.; see also Id., *Opus* 6-8 (1987-89) 76 f.

as early as the seventh century BC.[4] It may be that this public cult in the Forum was a Greek-influenced form of an earlier one which included worship of Vesta and her hearth on the Palatine.[5] Besides the contextual similarities between the building complexes in Athens and Rome and the activities involved, the manifestations of the cults of Hestia and Vesta show many further aspects in common (I will return to these later). Now, while it is indisputable that the Greek Hestia has left many traces of herself in the West, is the contrary true? Is there any evidence for the presence of the Roman (or Romanized) Vesta in the Greek East? Since it has rarely occurred to anyone to ask whether this was the case (perhaps because at first sight a positive answer would seem impossible),[6] I shall now take the opportunity to investigate the issue, focusing in particular on the mechanisms of a possible transfer (or rather a duplication) of a Roman cult in Greek soil as well as the reasons why this may have happened. The following discussion can also be taken as a contribution to the discussion of the influence which the Roman culture (in its various aspects and forms) may have had upon the Greek world.

First, we shall climb up to the Acropolis to look for useful evidence. A number of inscriptions on the hill show that Roman Vestals (ἱερὰ παρθένος)[7] were honoured with statues by the Athenian people. We know three such inscriptions of which only the one honouring Vibidia clearly seems to date from Augustan times; the others can be assigned approximately to the second quarter of the first century AD.[8] Vibidia, who received a statue for the sake of her εὐσέβεια, was *vetustissima* among the Vestals in AD 48; she was the daughter of Sex. Vibidius Virro, who is otherwise known as a *homo novus* in the

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4 For all that concerns Vesta's foreign origins and the early connections (direct or indirect) between Athens and Rome, I refer to Ampolo's rich and well-documented study (n. 3). For the cult of Vesta within the Regia complex, see F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano* I, Roma 1983, 56 ff.; T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*, London - New York 1995, 102.

5 Cf. A. Carandini, *La nascita di Roma. Dèi, lari, eroi e uomini all'alba di una civiltà*, Torino 1997, 214 n. 104 and now Id., in: *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città* (a cura di A. Carandini - R. Cappelli), Roma 2000, 107 f. According to this view, the hearth of Vesta (or proto-Vesta) was originally situated in the regal house on Cermalus (the acropolis of the Palatine), from where it was brought to the Forum by Numa. Ancient tradition said that (the Romulean) Vesta in turn had her origins in Alba (Liv. 1,20,3; D.H. 2,65,1).

6 As far as I know, while according to some scholars the Temple of Vesta in Rome may have had an effect on the Athenian architecture under Augustus (see below nn. 37, 57), only W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (HbAW III:2,2), München 1931², 99 n. 5 has considered the possibility that the cult of the Roman Vesta was also known in Athens (thus already in the edition of 1905, p. 94 n. 12).

7 Though rarely attested (obviously because Vestals could not travel abroad), this seems to have been the official Greek expression for *virgo Vestalis* in public documents (at least in Athens), cf. also e.g. App. *BC* 3,92,380; D.H. 1,69,4 (merely παρθένοι in 2,66); Plut. 89 E. Otherwise, in literary sources, Roman Vestals were usually styled as ἱέρεια (τῆς) Ἑστίας or simply ἱέρεια (thus e.g. Dio, who also has ἱέρεια ἀειπάρθενος: 56,5,7; 59,3,4); cf. also Ἑστιάδες π. in Plut. Cic. 19,4 (for *IG* XII,2 58 b 24, see below n. 23). - For "sacred virgins", female attendants of a deity, in papyri, cf. *P.Oxy.* 3177,2-3 (AD 247) and *P.Mert.* 2,73,1 (AD 163/4).

8 *IG* II² 3532 ("orientem versus a Parthenone"): Οὐιβιδίαν, ἱερὰν παρθένον, Σέξτου Οὐιβιδίου Οὐίρρωνος θυγατέρα ... (Tac. *ann.* 11,32,2: *vetustissima* among the Vestals in AD 48), cf. D.J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (Hesperia Suppl. 12), Princeton 1967, 158; Raepsaet-Charlier, *PFOS* 805. - 3534 ("inter Propylaea et Parthenonem"): Αὐρηλίαν, ἱερὰν παρ[θέ]νον, Κότ[τ]α[ς] θυγατέρα ...., cf. Geagan, ibid. 158; Raepsaet-Charlier, *PFOS* 131. - 3533 ("orientem versus ab Erechtheo"): Οὐαλερίαν, ἱερὰν παρθένον ..., cf. Geagan, ibid. 158; Raepsaet-Charlier, *PFOS* 769. - For further reading, see M. Kajava, in: *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History* (Comm. Hum. Litt. 91), Helsinki 1990, 76.

Augustan period. The fact that a statue set up for Virro alone is also documented suggests that he had some kind of contact with Athens or at least with the Greek East.[9] Though no office requiring his presence in Greece is hitherto attested, it is likely that he was in Athens in the capacity of office-holder, whether stationed in Greece or temporarily residing there on his way to or back from Asia Minor (one may note that Aurelia, the Vestal recorded in *IG* II² 3534, was the daughter of Cotta Messalinus, the proconsul of Asia in about AD 35/36). Now, of course, Vestal Virgins could not marry (at least during their service) nor could they travel abroad, for they were not allowed to omit their duties in Rome, leaving, for example, the eternal fire in the Forum unprotected.[10] Thus Vestals in office could never come to Athens in person. This probably means that when a Vestal was honoured in Athens, it was her father who was in the Greek East because of either administrative duties or military service or for some other reason. In such cases a statue may have been erected on the initiative of the father.[11] Sometimes, however, the father may not have been physically involved at all, it being simply the distinguished ancestry of a Vestal that counted most. At any rate, the above three dedications (and there would have been more of them in antiquity) are most remarkable as Vestal Virgins were not similarly honoured anywhere else in the Roman provinces. On the whole, there is very little evidence for their presence outside of the city of Rome.[12] One cannot but conclude from this singular evidence that there must have been some particular reason for the Vestals to be honoured on the Acropolis. It is true that an obvious way to explain this would be to assume a link with Athena Parthenos (after whom the Parthenon was called; cf. below n. 30). However, even if such a connection would in a way justify the presence of Roman Vestals on the hill, one may still ask whether there is a deeper - or, perhaps, more concrete - explanation for the phenomenon. Could it be that the Vestals were given honours on the Acropolis because the Roman goddess herself also resided there?

Three seating inscriptions from the Theatre of Dionysus show that there were priesthoods of Hestia in Athens: one of the seats belonged to the priestess of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia" (Augustus' daughter). This institution is likely to date before 2 BC, the year of Julia's banishment.[13] Moreover, a priestess of Ἑστία Ῥωμαίων

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9 T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 BC - AD 14*, Oxford 1971, 273 no. 484. Virro honoured alone: *IG* II² 4161.

10 Cic. *leg.* 2,20: *Virginesque Vestales in urbe custodiunto ignem foci publici sempiternum.*

11 Compare the monuments of Hellenistic date on the Acropolis, which were set up by parents in commemoration of their daughter's service as *arrephoros* of Athena: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford 1996, 271.

12 Particularly serious situations could necessitate the transferring of Vestals to a safer place. So it is told that during the Gallic sack of Rome in c. 386 BC the Vestals and their *sacra* were given refuge in the allied town Caere (Liv. 5,40,9 f., etc.; see now J. von Ungern-Sternberg, in: C. Bruun (ed.), *The Roman Middle Republic. Politics, Religion, and Historiography c. 400-133 BC* [Acta IRF 23], Rome 2000, 211 ff.). That some priestesses of Vesta are attested in the old Latin sanctuaries in Alba and Tibur (thus reflecting Vesta's old Latin connections) is not relevant here, for the significance of the cult of Vesta for the welfare of the Roman state was in practice bound to one place only, i.e the Roman *aedes* with the *pignora imperii*, cf. H. Cancik-Lindemaier, 'Arcana aedes. Eine Interpretation zum Heiligtum der Vesta bei Ovid', in: A. & J. Assmann (eds), *Schleier und Schwelle I: Geheimnis und Öffentlichkeit* (Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation V, Bd. 1), München 1997, 173.

13 *IG* II² 5096 (cun. I dexter, ordo IV): ἱερήας Ἑστίας ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει καὶ Λειβίας καὶ Ἰουλία[ς]. The text itself does not show that Livia was identified with Hestia (as she in fact sometimes was: see below n. 26) nor is it possible that the phrase καὶ Ἰουλίας would indicate Livia's change of name (as was suggested by early editors and some others; for an early correct interpretation, see G. Grether, *AJPh* 67 [1946] 230 f. n. 43).

is attested on two other seats.[14] These three inscriptions, all (probably) from the early Imperial period,[15] have attracted little attention from scholars, who are usually content with saying that either the goddess Hestia had a cult on the Acropolis (cf. below) or there was a Hearth of the Romans somewhere in Athens.[16] However, no pre-Imperial cult of Hestia on the Acropolis is attested, and even if it is true that cults of the People of Rome were relatively common in the Greek world, they were typical of earlier times.[17] As far as I can see, a priesthood of the Hearth of the Romans would probably imply a worship of the Romans or the Roman People (*demos*) and if the Hestia inscriptions really pointed to such a cult in the early Principate in Athens, one would not expect to find a priestess involved, for the officials of the cult of Roma or the People of Rome were almost exclusively men.[18] On the other hand, supposing that Ῥωμαῖοι refers to the Romans living in the city, the Roman residents of Athens are not known to have been organized as a formal community[19] nor do there seem to be further cases of hearths (*hestiai*) of foreign or any ethnic communities in Athens. Assuming, then, that the three Hestia inscriptions (or at least the one recording "Hestia on the Acropolis") would indicate a cult of the (Greek) Hestia, one encounters material difficulties, for it is very hard to find evidence for her priesthood in Athens. As far as I can see, no other priestesses would be attested and there is only one inscription where the editors have proposed to restore a priesthood of Hestia (but the restoration may be wrong).[20] On the whole, there is very little evidence for

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14 *IG* II² 5102 (cun. I dexter, ordo IX): ἱερείας Ἑσ[τίας Ῥω]μαίων. - 5145 (cun. IV dexter, ordo IV): ἱερίας Ἑσ[τ]ίας Ῥ[ω]μαίων.

15 Though letter forms may be poor evidence in a case like this, 5102 and 5145 are nonetheless palaeographically similar to the Augustan 5096, with the only exception that there is some fluctuation in the shape of the sigmas (5096: C; 5102: Σ; 5145: C and Σ [the latter almost rectangular]; the alpha is broken-barred in each inscription; autopsy 9 May 2000). However, this phenomenon is not so rare: for further examples of considerable variation in the form of the sigmas (and other letters) in one and the same inscription, see M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Vestigia 15), München 1972, 40. As for the spelling of the word for 'priestess', besides the normal ἱέρεια (5102) and the Augustan ἱέρηα (5096), there is ἱέρια (5145) which L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I: Phonology*, Berlin - New York 1980, 205 f. prefers to date "probably later than 100 AD." Note, however, *IG* II² 4126–7 showing ἱερίας and ἱερείας, respectively (the inscriptions should not be later than Claudius: *SEG* 31 [1981] 187). In vol. II of his work (1996), Threatte p. 774 points out that the reading ἱερίας is ascertainable alongside ἱέρειαν in *IG* II² 1346 (lines 21 and 5) from the early first century, but he explains that form by a careless omission of E. If needed, this explanation could, of course, be valid also for 5145. — A modern visitor is struck by the observation that the "seat" of each priestess was so broad as to provide easily space for several persons.

16 S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, 41 ("priestess of the Hearth of the Romans").

17 C. Fayer, *StudRom* 26 (1978) 474 ff.

18 Only when Roma began to be venerated together with Augustus do we find priestesses in provincial cults: R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Hypomnemata 42), Göttingen 1975, 181 f. Note also that the representations of Greek *Demoi* were inevitably masculine, and thus also the statues of *Demos* of the Romans were those of male figures (like the *Genius Populi Romani*), see J. Rufus Fears, *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 275 f.

19 A. Spawforth, in: M.C. Hoff - S.I. Rotroff (eds), *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, April 1996* (Oxbow Monograph 94), Oxford 1997, 189, refuting an old idea according to which there were cults organized by the "Italian" residents of Athens.

priesthoods of Hestia anywhere in the Greek world, obviously because *hestia* primarily meant the hearth and the fire, and this personification never became a common and popular object for worship, being rather an abstract and hardly conceptualized figure who was rarely represented in art.[21] There was a sanctuary of Hestia at Piraeus[22] and dedications to her are documented here and there, but priests are known only from Delos, Camirus (Rhodes) and Stratoniceia in Caria, the only priestess of Hestia being found in the Euboean Chalcis.[23] In Athens there was the famous κοινὴ ἑστία in the Prytaneion (also called ἑστία τῆς πόλεως or ἑστία τοῦ δήμου, sometimes ἑστία πατρῴα) and there was also the hearth of the Boule, both of which could be personified as Hestia Prytaneia and Hestia Boulaia, respectively.[24] Similar *hestiai* with their personifications are known from many cities all over the Greek world. So, while public hearths are quite common, the priesthood of Hestia is a rarity which is not only because the cult of Hestia was never fully institutionalized but also because of the partial ambiguity of the term *hestia*: it was perfectly in order that gods like Apollo, Athena or Zeus were given offerings

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20 *Agora* XV no. 260, 14 ff. (early first cent. BC): [--- καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλ]/λωνος τοῦ Προσ[τατηρίου -------- καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀ]/πόλλωνος τοῦ [Πατρώιου -------- καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τῆς Ἑσ]/τίας Μαρσύ[αν ---], etc. Instead of restoring τὸν ἱερέα τῆς Ἑσ]/τίας (the articles before the names of the deities are omitted in *Kerameikos* III [1941] 4 ff.), one should perhaps understand Βουλαίας Ἑσ]/τίας (or βουλαίας ἑσ]/τίας), either the goddess residing in the Bouleuterion or the Hearth in that same place - unless an amalgamation of both. Besides Hestia Boulaia, one may think of the cult of some other deity that was practised at the Heart of the Bouleuterion (for such cults, see R.E. Wycherley, *Agora* III [1957] 128). But can we even be absolutely sure that ---]τίας should be taken to refer to Hestia?

21 H. Sarian, *LIMC* V (1990) 407 ff., pointing out that in the frequent lack of characteristic attributes the evidence for Hestia's iconography is often ambiguous and difficult to interpret.

22 *IG* II² 1214 (early third cent. BC), 1229 (late fourth cent. BC; the cult seems to have been supported by the *Krokonidai genos*: Parker [above n. 11], 304).

23 Ἀριστα γόρη Ἱππά[ρ]χου ἡ ἱέρεια Ἑστία[ς] (*IG* XII Suppl. 651; second/first cent. BC). Note that the ἱέρηαι τῆς Ἑστίας recorded in the early Augustan decree *IG* XII,2 58 b 24 (= *IGR* IV 39, found in Lesbos) are no other than Roman Vestals. Delos: *I.Délos* 1877 and 2605: this was a common priesthood of Hestia, Demos (of the Athenians) and Roma, cf. C. Fayer, *Il culto della dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell'Impero* (Collana di saggi e ricerche 9), Pescara 1976, 62 ff., suggesting Athenian origin for the items "Demos and Roma". The cult may have been observed in the local Prytaneion. In Camirus (Rhodes) the current title was δαμιουργὸς τᾶς (ἐν Καμείρῳ) Ἑστίας or similar (*Tit.Cam.* and Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II, passim; cf. also *TAM* II 1185 [Lycia] suggesting Rhodian influence). As for M. Sempronius Clemens, known from *I.Stratonikeia* 16 (about AD 200), among his many offices was that of priest of Hestiai (Ἑστιῶν), which must refer to the cult of Hestia Boulaia, considering that two successive councils were summoned annually in Stratoniceia (for the *boulai*, see now V. Caldesi Valeri, *Minima epigraphica et papyrologica* 2 [1999] 204 ff.). One could also mention *I.Cilicie* 44 recording a priest τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Βουλῆς καὶ Βουλαίας Ἑστίας Σεβαστῆς διὰ βίου (with the interesting addition Σεβαστῆς). Note also that in Messenia and Olympia *hestia* was used as an honorific term for priestesses (ἑστία πόλεως or the like); an attestation also in *I.Heraclea Pontica* 1.

24 Dedications to, or mentions of, Hestia Boulaia (together with Zeus Boulaios): *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 63 f. no. 16 (55/54 BC) = *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 161 f. no. 3 (= *SEG* 33 [1983] 198); *Agora* XV no. 269 (53/52 BC); together with Zeus B. and Athena Boulaia: *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 96 ff. For further reading, see P.J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972, 34 f. (with Plans E and F). — The *hestia* of the Prytaneion is recorded in numerous inscriptions. A statue of Hestia stood there together with that of Eirene and others (Paus. 1,18). — Note also the expression ἱερεὺς τῶν Βουλαίων in reference to gods especially worshipped in the bouleuterion, which at times may have included Hestia as well (cf. *IGR* IV 556; *MAMA* IX 38, Aezani).

on a *hestia*, for, besides 'hearth' and its personification, this word also means 'altar' in Greek.[25] In consequence, and lacking further evidence, the expression "priest of Hestia" would sound somewhat inadequate, because the Hestia in question had to be defined and identified with an attribute (at least in a community with more Hestiai). Whether taken as a noun or as the personification of the hearth, *hestia*/Hestia alone remains neutral and ambiguous.

Turning back to the seating inscriptions, we can see that they all belonged to priestesses of Hestia, for whom there does not seem to be further evidence in Athens. And as we have seen, it would have been more natural that the person who took care of the cult of Hestia (or that of the Roman People) was a male. One of the priestesses also attended to the cult of Livia and Julia, which makes it possible that the cult of Hestia on the Acropolis was also related to the Roman world. It is well known from inscriptions and literature that Livia was associated with Vesta or Hestia (and, of course, with many other deities and personifications), as were some other female members of the Imperial House.[26] And since it appears from many ancient sources that the name *Vesta* was rendered as *Hestia* in Greek and *Hestia* was *Vesta* in Latin,[27] I cannot but conclude that Ἑστία Ῥωμαίων, as distinguished from other Athenian *hestiai*, refers to the Vesta of the Romans who is probably identical with the one "on the Acropolis". While this locution served to distinguish topographically the Hestia of the Acropolis from those of the Agora (i.e. the Boulaia and the Prytaneia), the attribute Ῥωμαίων was used to underline that the goddess in question was the Roman version of Hestia, i.e. the Vesta of the Roman Forum.[28] The genitive plural Ῥωμαίων was, of course, the normal Greek expression for

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[25] For the *hestia* of the Athenian Bouleuterion associated or identified with an altar, see the literary evidence collected by R.E. Wycherley, *Agora* III (1957) 128 ff. The connection between hearth and altar is obvious, cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical* (transl. J. Raffan), Oxford 1985, 61: "The altar is the pre-eminent fire place, the hearth of the gods".

[26] Livia as Vesta: e.g. Ov. *Pont.* 4,13,29; also in some western mints; cf. E. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia. Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*, Cambridge 1999, 94 f. - Livia as Hestia: *I. Lampsakos* 11 (Tiberian); *Roman Provincial Coinage* I (1992) 1149 (Corinth; AD 21/22; identification uncertain). As for the Claudian (?) *IG* II^2 3185, a private dedication to Hestia, Apollo, *Theoi Sebastoi*, etc., P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère a Trajan*, Le Caire 1931, 175 f. argued that Hestia and Apollo here represent Livia and Augustus, respectively (similarly Th. Mavrojannis, *Ostraka* 4 [1995] 91 n. 53). In *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 464 no. 12 (cf. Wycherley [above n. 20], no. 427), which was found near to the Bouleuterion, the epithet of *Ioulia Sebaste Boulaia* seems to suggest an association with Artemis Boulaia. For this evidence and for other Imperial ladies styled as Hestia, see U. Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina* (Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte, Bd. 8), Saarbrücken 1994, passim.

[27] Cf. e.g. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,67: *Vestae nomen a Graecis; ea est enim quae ab illis 'Εστία dicitur.* In Greek writers, *Vesta* was currently given as Ἑστία. In reality, however, the relation of these names to each other and their etymology are complex and still without a definitive answer. Whatever the truth in this respect, the Roman tradition generally associated Vesta with the Greek East and so the etymological and linguistic problems are a matter of secondary importance to our argument. For a recent survey of the name *Vesta* in Ovid and other ancient writers, cf. E. Gee, Ovid, *Aratus and Augustus. Astronomy in Ovid's* Fasti, Cambridge 2000, 114 ff. - *Vesta* is found in the meaning 'hearth' for the first time under Augustus (Verg. *georg.* 4,384; cf. *Moret.* 51; Sil. 6,76).

[28] M. Torelli, *Ostraka* 4 (1995) 28 argues that the priestess of Ἑστία Ῥωμαίων (in T., however, τῆς Ἑστίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων, which would have a slightly different shade of meaning) was "con tutta evidenza sacerdotessa del culto dell'imperatrice *sub specie* di Hestia-Vesta". This is in fact a good point, for an association of Livia with Hestia-Vesta is obvious (cf. above n. 26) and it might also be conceivable that there was a cult of Livia = Hestia besides that of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia". However, the expression Ἑστία Ῥωμαίων for Livia without any record of her own name or a title for her would be

something being "Roman" or "of the Romans" or "belonging to the Romans" and in the present case it surely implies that there were Greek Hestiai in Athens. So the Athenians were well aware that besides their own Hestiai there was also the Roman one and to speak of her in the topographical context of Athens there was in practice no other way than to adopt the attribute Ῥωμαίων (which is less ambiguous than the adj. Ῥωμαία).[29]

If there really was some sort of cult of Vesta on the Acropolis, it must have needed female personnel. This is precisely the kind of cultic context where the above-mentioned three priestesses of Hestia would fit. In Rome, the Vestal Virgins were in charge of the cult, but since they could be present in Athens at best in the guise of honorific statues, local girls must have been chosen to do the job. Perhaps the duty was given to the priestesses of Athena Parthenos, considering that those of Athena Polias were normally married women.[30] One should note, however, that several more hieratic girls and women worked and even lived on the Acropolis. In any case, the role and life of a Roman Vestal cannot be paralleled with that of an Athenian priestess responsible for the daily maintenance of Vesta's cult in Athens. The strict rules concerning the Roman Vestals and their sacred duties cannot have been similarly applied to the Athenian priestesses.[31]

The next thing to do is to look for a suitable place on the Acropolis where Vesta may have resided, for if she really had a priestess, there must have been an adequate site for her cult (whatever the type and nature of this may have been). The whole Acropolis was a sacred area with monuments, statues and numerous places for cult worship, dominated by the Great Altar to Athena Polias. In antiquity, however, it was not so uncommon that a god or a goddess shared his or her temple with other deities. Such an ensemble would be readily perceivable in the case of a deity like Vesta, for we are not even supposed to find a proper temple for her - she did not have one in Rome either, the *aedes*

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most unusual (epigraphic and numismatic evidence in Hahn [above n. 26], 322 ff.). Torelli, ibid. also thinks that the cult of Livia-Hestia on the Acropolis was reproduced in the Bouleuterion, "dove un'epigrafe prova che la moglie di Augusto vi era venerata come Artemis Boulaia, e forse... nella Tholos, che, a ben vedere, può anch'essa apparire una reiterata allusione simbolica al tempio di Vesta di Roma". There is indeed an honorific inscription found near to the Bouleuterion and dedicated to *Ioulia Sebaste Artemis Boulaia* (*SEG* 22 [1967] 152; Hahn [above n. 26], 49), but it does not prove the existence of a cult of Livia-Hestia in the same place (even if there is evidence for Hestia's cult in the Bouleuterion: above nn. 20, 24; Wycherley [above n. 20], 128, and even if the *prytaneis* used to give offerings to Artemis Boulaia in the Tholos).

29 For the genitive plural in similar cases, cf. e.g. Ἀπόλλων Περμινουνδέων (*SEG* 33 [1983] 1160; Pisidia); Ζεὺς Ὀτωρκονδέων (and other names of local phylai, cf. *I.Mylasa* II p. 175); Ζεὺς Περσῶν (*SEG* 28 [1978] 1186; Nacolia, Phrygia); Ζεὺς Πισαρισσέων (*SEG* 40 [1990] 1292); ἡ Τύχη ἡ Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέων (ibid. 1297; Seleucia Pieria). The epithet of Ζεὺς Αἰζανῶν (cf. *MAMA* IX 10 f.; *SEG* 45 [1995] 1711) derives directly from the place name, as does that of Τύχη Βόστρων (*SEG* 36 [1986] 1379).

30 Though not attested (cf. D.D. Feaver, *YClS* 15 [1957] 132), the existence of a priesthood of Athena Parthenos is conceivable (a number of dedications to A. Parthenos are preserved), cf. B. Jordan, *Servants of the Gods. A Study in the Religion, History and Literature of Fifth-century Athens* (Hypomnemata 55), Göttingen 1979, 34 f. Recently, however, J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*, Cambridge 1999, 27 and 163 f. has stressed that the Parthenon may not have been a temple at all (being rather a treasury, a votive and a symbol) and so it would be no wonder if there is no evidence for an altar or any priestess of the goddess.

31 In his discussion of the privileges accorded to the Vestal Virgins in Rome, G. Wissowa, in: Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924 ff.) 265 also refers to the seats of honour given to them in public games. In doing this he mentions the two seats of the Dionysus Theatre. Since it would be hard to believe that he had the Roman Vestals in mind, he may have meant local priestesses. If so, he was perfectly correct, though, of course, he failed to underline the difference between a Roman Vestal and an Athenian priestess of Vesta.

of the Forum Romanum having never been inaugurated; it was rather a sacred shelter where some vital things were preserved from times immemorial.[32] Likewise, the Vestal Virgins were the only higher priesthood in Rome whose members were not inaugurated. The question, therefore, is: where could Vesta find a good place to stay on the hill? Various alternatives are available, but among the buildings still preserved or known to have once existed the most likely choice seems to be the Temple of Roma and Augustus. There has been some dispute as to where exactly this building originally stood, but archaeological and other evidence makes it clear that the site has to be set some twenty-three metres east of the Parthenon, being aligned along its east-west axis (Figs 1 [No. 119], 2).[33] The dedicatory inscription, which is the only preserved mention of the sanctuary (it was not even recorded by Pausanias[34]), is still preserved on the Acropolis, where it was seen and copied by Ciriaco d'Ancona as early as 1436.[35] It was a round temple in Ionic order with nine columns and without cella, whose greatest diameter measures less than nine metres. What is more, this diminutive monopteros appears to be the only one of this form (circular) known to have been given to Roma and Augustus in the Roman Empire. It is true that the tholos type had been known for centuries in the East and it is equally true that it may be only incidental that the *aedes Vestae* in Rome was also a round building in Ionic order (as we know it was under Augustus).[36] Still, I would not

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32 Serv. *Aen.* 7,153; Gell. 14,7,7; G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, Münster 1965, 328.

33 There is a great deal of literature on the temple from the late 19th century onwards. The more recent treatments include M.C. Hoff, in: A. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: the Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity. Papers presented at a conference held in The University of Alberta on April 13-15, 1994, to celebrate the 65th anniversary of Duncan Fishwick* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Suppl. ser. 17), Ann Arbor 1996, 185 ff.; P. Baldassarri, *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ. Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il* saeculum Augustum (Archaeologica 128), Roma 1998, 45 ff. (earlier in *Ostraka* 4 [1995] 69 ff.]; T. Schäfer, Spolia et signa*: Baupolitik und Reichskultur nach dem Parthererfolg des Augustus* (*Nachr. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen*; phil.-hist. Kl. 1998,2), 46 ff., 63 ff.; Hurwit (above n. 30), 279 f. (Cf. also W. Binder, *Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort*, Stuttgart 1969, who argues with great improbability that the temple stood opposite the Erechtheion, followed by H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* [Archaeologica 39], Roma 1985, 156 ff.; for pictorial evidence, see J. Travlos, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* [1971] 494.) Unfortunately, I have not seen G. Schmalz, *Athens after Actium: Public Building and Civic Identity under the Early Principate (31 BC—A.D. 115)*, Chapel Hill ("forthcoming" according to Hurwit 375).

34 As a devoted philhellene he seems to have often passed by Roman monuments in silence, cf. C. Auffarth, in: *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (hrsg. von H. Cancik und J. Rüpke), Tübingen 1997, 224.

35 *IG* II² 3173: ['O] δῆμος θεᾶι 'Ρώμηι καὶ Σε[βασ]τῶι [Καίσαρι] στρα[τηγ]οῦντος ἐπὶ τ[οὺς] / ὁπλίτας Παμμένους τοῦ Ζήνωνος Μαραθωνίου ἱερέως θεᾶς / 'Ρώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπ' / 'Ακροπόλει ἐπὶ ἱερείας 'Αθηνᾶς / Πολιάδος Μεγίστης τῆς 'Ασκληπίδου 'Αλαιέως θυγατρὸς / ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος 'Αρήου τ[οῦ] Δωρίωνος Παιανιέως.

36 For round edifices in Greece (with various interpretations of their function and significance), see F. Robert, *Thymélè: recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaires dans l'architecture religieuse de la Grèce* (BEFAR 147), Paris 1939, underlining the chthonic aspect (the Acropolis monopteros: 369 ff.); A. Giuliano, *La cultura artistica delle province della Grecia in età romana* (Studia archaeologica 6), Roma 1965, 14; G. Roux, in: *Temples et sanctuaires* (Trav. de la maison de l'Orient 7), Lyon 1984, 166 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 55 ff. (with further references). — Regarding the round form of Vesta's *aedes* in Rome (for its Augustan appearance, see R. Cappelli, *LTUR* 5 [1999] 126 f.), it has often been thought that it reproduces a circular hut of the archaic type ('capanna'), but the question is obviously more complex: some have preferred to recognize in the *aedes* the ancient form of a tomb (cf. G. Radke, *Zur Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesverehrung in Rom*,

doubt that many Romans at least associated the Athenian building with the Roman one. As far as I can see, Paul Graindor in his book on Athens under Augustus is one of the few to have seriously suggested that the round form has something to do with Vesta. On the other hand, I think he was only partly correct in concluding that there was a cult of the Greek Hestia in the same place, for the testimony he used (i.e. the inscription recording the priestess of "Hestia on the Acropolis", etc.) probably has to be interpreted in a different way (see above).[37] I agree that the triple cult of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia" may plausibly be associated with the Temple of Roma and Augustus, for on the Acropolis there is no earlier trace of a worship of Hestia;[38] moreover, this temple is the only known nucleus of an imperial cult on the hill.[39] However, in my opinion the Hestia of the seating inscription is none other than the Roman Vesta. This should not mean, however, that the Roman *aedes Vestae* actually served as an architectural model for the Athenian monopteros. What seems probable is that the two came to be easily associated with each other not only in ideological terms but also because of their appearance. For a Roman visiting the Acropolis the mere shape of the Temple of Roma and Augustus may have recalled Vesta's temple in the Roman Forum.

The dedicatory inscription of the temple records three persons: besides Pammenes of Marathon, son of Zeus, who was hoplite general and priest of Roma and Augustus

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Darmstadt 1987, 279 and 286, taking the Vestal as a 'living dead' who alone has access to the tomb, i.e. the *aedes* which by its form resembles a tomb). As an ancient testimony one may cite Ovid's original explanation of the shape of Vesta's temple: it is round because the earth (= Vesta) is round, and it is comparable with the famous globe of Archimedes (Ov. *fast.* 6,265 ff., 277 ff., now discussed in detail by Gee [above n. 27], 92 ff.).

37 P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Le Caire 1927, 154 f. (he also assumed a link with the Tholos of the Agora, which is unsustainable, for the *koine hestia* was not in that building; the idea of an original connection between the round form and the cult of Hestia [and other female deities] has been revived by M. Weber, *Baldachine und Statuenschreine* [Archaeologica 87], Roma 1990, 110 ff.). Graindor's ideas were not refuted by Robert (above n. 36), 370 f.; D.J. Geagan, in: *ANRW* II:7,1 (1979) 382 (though he has some reservations). Mellor (above n. 18), 139 also held a connection with the Roman Temple of Vesta as possible and, moreover, he suggested, following Graindor, that the triple cult of Hestia, Livia and Julia might be associated with the Temple of Roma and Augustus (similarly Torelli [above n. 28], 28). A connection with Vesta was denied by R. Trummer, *Die Denkmäler des Kaiserkults in der römischen Provinz Achaia*, Diss. Graz 1980, 57 n. 2: in her opinion, the round form rather goes back to funerary and ruler cults.

38 Graindor (above n. 37), 154 and some others have assumed that the cult of Hestia on the Acropolis would go back, ideologically at least, to an early *hestia*, which would have risen on the hill before the synoecism, while others think that the early Prytaneion was there afterwards (cf. L.B. Holland, *AJA* 43 [1939] 289 ff., suggesting that, from the time of Theseus to that of Solon, there was a Prytaneion on the Acropolis; for the old Prytaneion and its location in the archaic agora, see recently J.-M. Luce, *RA* 1998, 10 ff.). Attractive though it is, the association of the ἱερεὺς πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως (*IG* II^2 5046; Maass [above n. 15], 121) with the cult of "Hestia on the Acropolis" and in turn with the Imperial cult (thus Graindor, ibid.; J.H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 5 [1936] 100) is undemonstrable (for further examples of this title, see *IG* II^2 3631, 3804-5 with D.J. Geagan, *ZPE* 85 [1991] 158 f.; S.B. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens*, Amsterdam 1991, 58 n. 2, and for πυρφόροι in general, see L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* VI, Amsterdam 1989, 564 ff.).

39 The phrase "on the Acropolis" is added to the name of Hestia (in order to distinguish her from the Hestiai of the lower city), but it is certainly valid for the cults of Livia and Julia as well, for it would be unlikely that a single priesthood served for cults located in two or even three quite different places. Perhaps the original cult here was that of "Hestia on the Acropolis" and the other two were later additions (or perhaps only Iulia was added later). Livia may have had a cult together with Tiberius in the Agora (in an annex to the Stoa of Zeus), and, moreover, we know that she was worshipped at Eleusis, cf. K. Clinton, in: *The Romanization of Athens* (above n. 19), 165 ff.

Soter on the Acropolis[40] concurrently, and the archonship of Areios, the text mentions Megiste, daughter of Asclepides of Halai, as priestess of Athena Polias. This is an interesting inclusion, because having a lifetime tenure this priesthood could not serve for dating and so Megiste's name suggests a link between the Imperial cult (including Vesta, Livia and Julia) and Athena Polias.[41] Significantly, Megiste's grandfather may already have been priest of the goddess Roma.[42] The dedication itself dates between 27 and 18/17 BC, for the archons from 17/16 to 11 are known. In any case, the inscription is hardly later than 12 BC, because Augustus is not *arkhiereus megistos* (*pontifex maximus*). Though, in theory, if this title was omitted, one could also think of the years 10-9 but not later, for after the death of Drusus Caesar in 9 BC the priesthood of his cult was held by the archon. As Michael Hoff, Paola Baldassarri and Thomas Schäfer (and some others) have perceptively suggested,[43] the temple was most probably dedicated in 19 BC, that is, during the Emperor's last visit to Athens.[44] This year, when Augustus stayed in Athens on his way back from the East and when he also participated for a second time in the Eleusinian mysteries (held out of season according to Dio 54,9,10), is indeed the best

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40 The qualification ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει shows that another priest of Augustus was in office in the lower city: H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 182; Hoff (above n. 33), 194 f.; Clinton (above n. 39), 165 f.; Spawforth (above n. 19), 184 f. (both Clinton and Spawforth justly question whether the inscription can be taken to prove the existence of another joint cult of Roma and Augustus in Athens). Whereas the priest of Roma and Augustus Caesar had a seat in the sixth row in the Theatre of Dionysus (*IG* II² 5114), the priest of Augustus Caesar sat in the front row (*IG* II² 5034; inscribed soon after Actium [see now Clinton and Spawforth, cit.]; the priestly title was remodified later so as to read ἱερέως καὶ ἀρχιερέως Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος). As Spawforth (art. cit.), 199 n. 59 assumes, it is possible that 5114 dates after Augustus' death, for the qualification "on the Acropolis" was probably omitted as unnecessary (as at the time of inscription, after the Emperor's death, this was the sole cult of Augustus). Moreover, as pointed out by Spawforth, ibid., if *Soter* was preferably reserved for the living emperor, it may also be that the use of *Sebastos Kaisar* instead of *Sebastos Soter* indicates a date after AD 14. This would also help explain why Σωτῆρι was cancelled and Καίσαρι inscribed in its place in the first line of the Acropolis dedication (see n. 35). However, if the argument of *Kaisar-Soter* is valid, and if there was only a single cult of Roma and Augustus in Athens, we should probably accept that the altar *IG* II² 3179 to "Roma and *Sebastos Kaisar*" not only associates with the Acropolis monopteros but was also inscribed after Augustus' death (Graindor [above n. 37], 150 and Fayer [above n. 23], 147 considered it possible that this was the altar of the monopteros; Schäfer [above n. 33], 66 n. 88: "möglicherweise". The problem is, however, that the text is known only from an old copy and is reported to have been found in the lower city, not far from the Roman Agora, see Baldassarri [above n. 33], 50 n. 25).

41 For Pammenes, Megiste and Areios, see Hoff (above n. 33), 190 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 51 f. Pammenes, who is also attested in other inscriptions, came from an old and prominent family and he may have been a client of Agrippa, which would have made it easier for him to assume the two offices (see J.H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, Baltimore 1950, 92; D.J. Geagan, *Phoenix* 46 [1992] 29 ff. with stemma on p. 34 f.; Hoff [above n. 33], 192). For Pammenes' priesthood of Apollo on Delos and its relevance to the Imperial cult in Athens, see also Mavrojannis (above n. 26), 89 f.

42 D.M. Lewis, *ABSA* 50 (1955) 9 no. 13 = *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Eastern History*, Cambridge 1997, 199. For Megiste and some further (alleged) priestesses of Athena Polias between 27 and 18 BC, see also S. Aleshire, in: R. Osborne - S. Hornblower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford 1994, 336 f. no. 16. The grandfather: *IG* II² 2336,262 (in 97/96 BC: S. Dow, *HSCPh* 51 [1940] 111 ff.).

43 Hoff (above n. 33), 192 ff. (cf. Id., in: S. Walker - A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, London 1989, 5 ff.); Baldassarri (above n. 33), 27 f., 51; Schäfer (above n. 33), 47 f.

44 The alleged visit of 12 BC is based on a misreading of Dio 54,28,3: G.W. Bowersock, *AJA* 95 (1991) 358; C. Habicht, *CPh* 86 (1991) 226 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 28 n. 103.

alternative. This is because one could hardly imagine a temple being dedicated to Augustus during his previous visit in the winter 22/21 when he was on fairly bad terms with the Athenian people (one may remember that the Emperor did not even enter the city and remained on the island of Aegina, which he took away from the Athenians along with Eretria).[45] However, the unrest probably soon calmed down and ties to Athens were renewed by 19 BC. Many scholars now agree that the institution of the cult of Roma and Augustus and the construction of the respective temple should be assigned to this year. There would have been various manifestations of the recognition of the Emperor's sovereignty in Athens, but one event in particular seems to have given the Athenians a special opportunity to honour both the emperor and Rome's power, that is, Augustus' victorious Parthian campaign and the restitution (in 20 BC) of prisoners as well as the lost standards which the barbarians had taken from Crassus and others in a number of battles from 53 BC. No doubt one of the principal motives for the building of the monopteros was that it was planned to be a memorial to Augustus' victory over the Parthians.[46] The propaganda value of this success (diplomatic rather than military) was enormous and it is well attested in Augustan art and literature.[47] Besides being a monument to the Imperial cult and a demonstration of the Athenians' renewed wish to pay honour to Augustus,[48] the Acropolis temple was a strong expression of Augustan propaganda. So there would have been more than one reason for establishing the temple; it was, in fact, one of the results of what had been going on in both Athenian and Roman (foreign) policy over the previous years. It is true that the monopteros would have been an Athenian attempt at reconciliation with Augustus, but it is very likely also that the project was strongly prompted by the Romans, being in a way comparable to the completion with the Emperor's money of the Roman Market around the same time.[49] It also deserves to be underlined that the temple was placed on the Acropolis which, for the most part, can be seen as a panhellenic victory monument over the barbarian East. The notion of Rome's victory over Parthia as compared with that of the Athenians over the Persians was consciously used for propaganda

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45 G.W. Bowersock, *CQ* n.s. 14 (1964) 120 f., discussing Plut. 207 E-F and other sources; M.C. Hoff, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 267 ff.; Hoff (above n. 33), 192; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 19 ff. C. Böhme, *Princeps und Polis. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsform des Augustus über bedeutende Orte in Griechenland* (Quellen u. Forsch. z. antiken Welt 17), München 1995, 50 f., prefers to date the episode of punishment immediately after Actium (cf. also Graindor [above n. 37], 17).

46 R.M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren. Orientalenstatuen aus farbigen Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst*, Worms 1986, 89; Hoff (above n. 33), 193 f.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 22 ff., 54. In reality, however, it may have been Tiberius who received the standards (if we may trust Suet. *Tib.* 9,1; cf. *Aug.* 21,3), an incident likely to have been omitted in official propaganda (cf. G. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti. A Historical Study*, Oxford 1994, 101 n. 152). In practice, however, they may have been first handed over to the governor of Syria (cf. Str. 16,1,28 with H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* [HABES 2], Stuttgart 1986, 161).

47 This point has been widely discussed (for a recent survey, see Baldassarri [above n. 33], 27 n. 97; add now H.I. Flower, *ClAnt* 19 [2000] 55 ff.); for reflections in art, see N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Jutland Archaeol. Soc. Publ. 19), Aarhus 1986, 50 ff.; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, 188 ff.

48 According to G. Schmalz ("forthcoming", see above n. 33), cited by Spawforth (above n. 19), 193, the building of the monopteros and its prominent placing were motivated by "an Athenian wish to allay the 'anger' of Augustus".

49 The Market was completed with funds donated by Augustus some thirty years after the project had been launched by Caesar (perhaps in 51 BC), see Hoff, in: *The Greek Renaissance* (above n. 43), 1 ff., plausibly opting for Augustus' visit in 19 BC as the occasion for the funding (p. 5). The Market may have been dedicated in 11 or 10 BC (ibid. p. 6).

purposes. In the words of J.M. Hurwit, "Perfectly aligned with the Parthenon and thus with the Nike-bearing Athena Parthenos, the Temple of Roma and Augustus essentially marked an eastward extension of the Parthenon's own ideological geometry, an imperial insertion into the Acropolis' complex network of allusions to the west's triumph over the east".[50] Just as the chryselephantine image of Athena Parthenos in the east room of the Parthenon faced east, so the entrance of the round temple would have been on the east side, which obviously means that the statues of Augustus and Roma also had an eastern exposure. The shrine was so small and low that it could not possibly eclipse the greatness of the Parthenon, nor could it prevent the sunlight from illuminating Athena's statue.[51]

It may seem pointless to ask why the monopteros looked like it did, but if one really wishes to find a precise model for it, there is at least a new candidate. Considering that the building of the temple was partly motivated by the restitution of the Roman standards, Baldassarri has given attention to the fact that, according to Dio,[52] Augustus (when perhaps still in Syria) had asked the Senate for a sanctuary sacred to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, where the recovered standards could be deposited. Such a building may in fact be identified with a round edifice visible in a number of provincial emissions dating to 19/18 BC.[53] Baldassarri's idea is that the Capitoline round building and the Athenian monopteros were not only contemporaneous but were dedicated for identical reasons: this would explain the typological similarity between the two.[54] Of course, since on this hypothesis the temples would have been conceived contemporaneously, both the question of which temple served as a model for which and the notion of the round form itself would pose a problem. However, as pointed out by Schäfer, the Athenians could hardly have started building the monopteros without knowledge of the Capitoline plan whose fulfilment was the primary goal of the whole affair. If correct, this theory would give credit to the idea that the standards not only followed Augustus to Athens but were preserved in the city during his stay: they (or their copies) may have been exhibited in the Acropolis monopteros in 19 BC.[55]

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50 Hurwit (above n. 30), 280. For this point, see also K. Carroll, *The Parthenon Inscription* (Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs 9), Durham, NC 1982, 67 ff.; A. Spawforth, in: S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography*, Oxford 1994, 234 f.; Hoff (above n. 33), 193.

51 Hurwit (above n. 30), 279. That the right exposure of statues was most important not only for the Athenians but also for Augustan propaganda, is nicely shown by the miracle on the Acropolis which, according to Dio 54,7,2 f., caused the economic sanctions the Emperor imposed on the city (during the winter 22/21): "And it seemed to them [i.e. the Athenians] that the thing which had happened to the statue of Athena was responsible for this misfortune; for this statue on the Acropolis, which was placed to face the east, had turned around to the west [i.e. in the direction of Rome] and spat blood" (trans. E. Cary; Loeb ed.), cf. Hoff (above n. 45), 267 ff.; G.W. Bowersock, in: *Opposition et résistances a l'empire d'Auguste a Trajan* (Entr. Hardt 33), Genève 1986, 298 f., discussing miraculous events as acts of political opposition.

52 Dio 54,8,3.

53 The evidence is collected in Ch. Reusser, *LTUR* III (1996) 230 f.

54 Baldassarri (above n. 33), 58 ff. (61: "In ultima analisi proprio le insegne partiche e l'alto valore ideologico da esse espresso potrebbero aver determinato non solo la costruzione dei due monumenti, ma anche la loro affinità tipologica"). The historical event promoted the building *ex novo* and the restoration of many honorific monuments in the Greek East, cf. Baldassarri, ibid. 61 n. 75; Schäfer (above n. 33), passim.

55 Schäfer (above n. 33), 58 f., 63 ff., arguing (55) with sufficient probability that the Capitoline building was also a monopteros. This type of building (without cella) would have been particularly adapted to the exposition and conservation of sculptures and other objects. The standards were recovered in spring 20 (some scholars implausibly opt for 12 May: see below n. 98), while Augustus arrived at

Thus a connection with the Capitoline round temple seems likely and the Athenian monopteros was plausibly planned to recall the Augustan victory and the return of the lost standards, and even to serve as a temporary pavilion for them (or a more permanent one for the copies). It is another matter that the small temple on the Capitol probably never existed but remained only a plan illustrated on some coins.[56] It was originally decreed by the Senate that the standards should be deposited on the Capitol, but it was decided some time after Augustus' return to Rome that the temple of Mars Ultor should be part of a new forum, i.e. the Forum Augustum (see below). While the plan was changed in Rome, the original project was completed on the Acropolis.

These considerations do not mean that Vesta could not have had anything to do with the Athenian monopteros. On the contrary, the goddess could be easily adapted to the cultic context of the round temple. As I have stated above, though there was probably no organic link between the *aedes Vestae* and the monopteros,[57] the round form is still likely to have produced an association between the two. Therefore, if Vesta was ever to arrive at the Acropolis, the mere form of the new Temple of Roma and Augustus would have made it a natural choice. However, this would not have happened in 19 BC, but some time later, preferably after 6 March 12 BC, when Augustus became *pontifex maximus*. Reading through Augustan poetry with an emphasis on Imperial propaganda, Ovid's *Fasti* in particular, and looking at other literary and archaeological evidence, one can see that the figure of Vesta was most important to Augustus and his ideology. As *pontifex* the Emperor, descended from Aeneas and a kinsman of Vesta (Ov. *fast.* 3,425 f.), was *sacerdos Vestae* himself, a priestly relationship that had been unknown until then, for the role of the Pontifex Maximus of the Republic did not involve direct participation in the worship, even less a direct relationship with the goddess herself. "Now a primary relationship of a sacred nature between Augustus and the goddess of the Roman hearth has been created".[58] This link was remarkably strengthened by the reproduction (not transferral) of Vesta's cult in Augustus' own house on the Palatine on 28 April 12 BC (which, like 6 March, was to be made a *Nefas Publicus* day).[59] Vesta had been important

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Athens in the next spring. He may have stayed there (or in the vicinity) until late summer, for he entered Rome on 12 October (the evidence is discussed by Baldassarri [above n. 33], 28; Schäfer, ibid. 61 f.).

56 The long-disputed question of its existence may probably be taken as settled after the powerful arguments of J.W. Rich, *PBSR* 66 (1998) 79 ff. and M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums* (Archäologie und Geschichte 9), Heidelberg 1999, 62 ff.

57 Unless, perhaps, the planned round temple on the Capitol intentionally recalled Vesta's sanctuary (taken as a possibility by Spannagel [above n. 56], 65). Rich (above n. 56), 86 thinks that the character of the Capitoline area may have led the Senate to prescribe that the temple should be round. Schäfer (above n. 33), 52 ff. (and passim) plausibly underlines that the architecture of the round temple was suitable for the exposition of *signa* and *spolia*.

58 Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 69. *Sacerdos Vestae*: Ov. *fast.* 3,699; 5,573 (cf. below n. 90).

59 Even if there is no clear evidence for a temple of Vesta on the Palatine (A. Fraschetti, *Roma e il principe*, Bari 1990, 342 ff.; D. Fishwick, *Acta Univ. Wratisl. Antiquitas* 18 [1993] 51 ff.; see recently R. Cappelli, in: *LTUR* 5 [1999] 128 f.), her cult was certainly reproduced there (*Fasti Caer.* and *Praen.*; Ovid, Dio) and it must have needed some sort of physical setting (perhaps in the *vestibulum* on entering Livia's house: *Flavius Josephus. Death of an Emperor* [transl. and comm. by T.P. Wiseman], Exeter 1991, 107 ff.). The *signum Vestae* (*Fasti Caer.*; *Fasti Praen.* [suppl.]) that was dedicated on the Palatine would have indicated a cult statue (possibly, though not necessarily, in the shape of a Palladium). Cf. also A. Barchiesi, *Il poeta e il principe. Ovidio e il discorso augusteo*, Bari 1994, 197 f.; Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 77 ff.; C. Kunst, "*Wohnen mit den Göttern. Zur Einbeziehung des Göttlichen in den Kaiserlichen Wohnraum*", in: C. Batsch - U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser - R. Stepper (eds), *Zwischen Krise und*

in Rome for centuries, but it was only after 12 BC, following her *cognatio* with the Princeps, that she was given a particular place in the Imperial propaganda. Stories of Vesta's eastern connections began to be revived by contemporary writers. Vesta herself (and her fire) was thought to have been brought to Rome from Troy.[60] But what is equally or even more important is that the round sanctuary of Vesta in Rome housed the Palladium, the holy image of Athena (or, to be precise, one of those images reported to have existed in antiquity), whose propagandistic importance increased considerably under the first Princeps, not least because as a Trojan relic it was one of the claims to Rome's Trojan origins.[61] Ovid clearly reflects the Augustan ideology when he says: *ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt / Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides* (*fast.* 3,421 f.), in other words, the fire of Vesta and the Pontifex Maximus have been united so as to form with the Palladium a trinity, where Vesta is the guardian of the two pledges of the Roman state. The context is clearly what happened on the Palatine in April 12 BC, but the implications, deeply rooted in Augustan ideology, are wider: thenceforth not only the Palladium[62] but also the Emperor would be a *pignus imperii*, a position legitimated with recourse to religion, mythology and legend. If the co-operation with Vesta were to continue without disturbance, the Emperor could guarantee peace and stability in the whole Empire.[63]

From the ideological point of view, then, the presence of Vesta in the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis would be perfectly apposite:[64] Augustus, who (by beating the Parthians) had established peace, is now Vesta's kinsman and under her guardianship. The same goddess guaranteed the safety of the Palladium, i.e. the image of Athena to whom the Acropolis had been sacred from ancient times. Just as the Roman *pignora imperii* guaranteed the power and impregnability of the Roman (Augustan)

Alltag. Antike Religionen im Mittelmeerraum (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge, Bd. 1), Stuttgart 1999, 230 f.

60 Verg. *Aen.* 2,296.567; 5,744; 9,259; Prop. 4,4,69; Ov. *am.* 3,6,76; *fast.* 3,29. 142. 418; 6,227. 365. 456; *met.* 15,730 f. (and elsewhere); D.H. 2,65,2. For the relation between Augustus and Vesta as well as the Trojan origins of the goddess, see Fraschetti (above n. 59), 345 ff.; S.R.F. Price, *CAH*^{2} X (1996) 825 ff.

61 The pretension to the Palladium being preserved by the Romans - an idea closely linked with the legend about the Trojan Aeneas as the founder of Lavinium and of the Latin people - would have been established during the mid-Republic, cf. Dubourdieu (above n. 1), 460 ff., esp. 466 f.; for further bibliography, see now Spannagel (above n. 56), 115 f. A recent survey of the significance of the Palladium in Rome is provided by J.-M. Moret, *Les pierres gravées antiques représentant le rapt du Palladion*. Texte, Mainz am Rh. 1997, 281 ff.

62 Cf. Cic. *Scaur.* 48: *Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur*. This is the earliest known testimony to the role of the Palladium as *pignus imperii* (possibly drawing on an earlier source).

63 A remarkable pictorial testimony to this ideology is the Augustan "Base di Sorrento" (after 12 BC), showing Vesta, the Palladium, the Pontifex Maximus, Livia (?) and some Vestals (G.E. Rizzo, *Bull.Com.* 60 [1932] 7 ff.; *LIMC* V [1990] 415 no. 25 with bibliography). On coins, the combination of Palladium and Vesta is attested for the first time for Galba (*BMC* Emp. I 335,159; *RIC* I 206,72; 265).

64 Mellor (above n. 18), 200 f. has argued that in the western municipal cults of Roma (and Augustus) provincial people often identified the goddess Roma with Vesta, who together with the Emperor represented the eternity of Rome. However, the general applicability of this idea to the cults of Roma is questionable (in the first place Mellor thinks of Roma as understood by the Roman legionaries, recently pacified barbarians, etc.). That it would also seem to fit the cultic context of the Athenian monopteros is quite incidental.

Empire, so Athena (Polias, etc.) was the guardian of both the Acropolis and the whole city. A further noteworthy item is the eternal fire of the *aedes Vestae* (often identified with the goddess herself), which recalls the *koine hestia* in Athens. Moreover, besides Rome, the only other place where Pallas Athena is known to have been associated with an eternal flame was precisely in the Prytaneion which was sacred to the goddess.[65] Note, finally, that there was an ever-burning fire also in the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Acropolis.[66]

Of all the known edifices on the Acropolis the round temple would seem to provide the most plausible setting, topographical as well as ideological, for the cult of Vesta. The monopteros, with an open colonnade, would have exhibited on its east side the cult images of Roma and Augustus and, possibly, the recovered standards at their feet.[67] It would not have been difficult, however, to add a further deity to this group: Vesta in particular would have been easily adaptable, for if identified with the hearth or fire, she evidently did not even need a cult image; and there was none in the Roman *aedes*. In fact, the goddess was by no means frequently represented or portrayed in art in Republican and early Imperial times, representations of Vesta being relatively rare at any period.[68] Moreover, since Vesta in a strict sense did (and could) not have a temple of her own, she was probably honoured, when necessary, in the context of other cults. But the possibility exists that there were other statues in the monopteros, provided that the cult of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia" may be associated with the temple. On the assumption that this Hestia is the Roman Vesta, the two statues of Livia and Julia may have been placed within the circle in or after 12 BC. It is true that the monopteros was small (its stylobate measuring 7.36 m), yet I do not believe that it would have become too crowded if it housed four statues of natural size.[69] If this is correct, one priest (of Roma and Augustus) and two priestesses (of Vesta and of Vesta, Livia and Julia, respectively) must have served at the temple, similar combinations of priestly offices being, naturally, otherwise well documented. And there would have been at least two altars (if a single further one was enough for the cults added after 12 BC),[70] and a flame as a symbol of Vesta: not necessarily of firm construction, it may have been a movable olive-oil burning lamp like (perhaps) the golden one with a pertinent chimney seen by Pausanias in the Temple of Athena Polias in the Erechtheion. The priestess of Vesta would have taken care of the eternal fire.

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65 *Sch. Aristid.* 3, p. 48,8 (Dind.).

66 Paus. 1,26,6 f., cf. *RE* II 1955 f. Judging from Pausanias' description, besides the use of asbestos as a wick, a considerable amount of oil would have been somehow stored to keep the fire alive.

67 Thus Schäfer (above n. 33), 66 f.

68 As were those of Hestia (above n. 21). Absence of cult statue for Vesta: G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (HbAW IV:5), München 1912², 159; C. Koch, *RE* VIII A 2 (1958) 1728 f.; Radke (above n. 32), 327 f. Some other statuary representations are known to have existed (e.g. the one showing Vesta among the Dei Consentes); the evidence from coins, reliefs and wall paintings is collected by T. Fischer-Hansen, *LIMC* V (1990) 412 ff.

69 Clinton (above n. 39), 168 argues that the temple was too small to have housed the cult of Livia and Tiberius (which should be located somewhere in central Athens) in addition to that of Roma and Augustus. Livia and Tiberius were evidently not honoured on the Acropolis, but the argument of limited space is questionable.

70 For the altar *IG* II² 3179 which has been associated with the Temple of Roma and Augustus, see above n. 40. Note also that an anonymous reader (mentioned by Spawforth [above n. 19], 184 n. 11) has suggested that rather than a temple, the monopteros was "an elaborate baldacchino for an altar".

Besides the normal cultic activities involving the presence and work of priestesses, one may assume other types of worship as well. A remarkable and nearly contemporaneous parallel may be found in Cumae. The Augustan *Feriale Cumanum* (between AD 4 and 14) shows that Vesta was given *supplicationes*, probably in a temple of Augustus, on the birthdays of (perhaps) three members of the Imperial family, and if Attilio Degrassi was right, the same was done on Augustus' birthday (23 September). Significantly, a *supplicatio Vestae* is also attested for 6 March, the day on which Augustus assumed the office of *pontifex maximus* and it may be, moreover, that the *supplicatio* usually taken to honour the birthday of Germanicus (24 May) in reality refers to the day on which the altar to Vesta was dedicated in Augustus' house on the Palatine (28 April).[71] The presence of Vesta in this calendar is indeed conspicuous and it may be that it partly reflects a local practice, considering that municipalities in Italy were relatively free to adapt their list of festivals and accompanying rites to the calendar of Rome.[72] In any case, Augustus himself did not fail to record that the Senate had decreed 55 thanksgivings (covering 890 days) because of his military and other successes.[73] Some of them are otherwise documented, like those instituted for 3 September in memory of the sea fight of Naulochus where Sex. Pompeius was defeated in 36 BC.[74] Who knows, then, if the anniversary of the restitution of the Roman standards was celebrated at the Acropolis monopteros with *supplicationes* to various deities, including Vesta? According to Dio, *supplicationes* were held in Rome after the recovery of the standards in 20 BC, a claim whose authenticity should not be doubted.[75] Whether the Emperor's birthday was ever celebrated on the Acropolis is uncertain, for we know that the Athenians offered annual sacrifice to Augustus on that day at an altar somewhere in the lower city, perhaps from either 21/20 or (rather) 19 BC.[76] In any case, if such things of a more public nature ever

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71 A. Degrassi, *Inscr.It.* XIII,2, 278 ff. no. 44: 7 October (Drusus Caesar); 16 November (Ti. Caesar); 24 May (Germanicus Caesar). Augustus' birthday: Degrassi p. 279, line 3: *supplicatio [Vestae].* — 6 March: *[--- Eo die Caesar pontifex ma]ximus creatus est. Supplicat<i>o Vestae, dis publ(icis) p(enatibus) p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium).* For the possibility of a *supplicatio* celebrating the event of 28 April (instead of Germanicus' birthday on 24 May), see Spannagel (above n. 56), 42 n. 170. Lacking evidence for a temple of Imperial cult at Cumae, Degrassi, ibid. 276 f. assumed that the feast calendar may have been kept by some local collegium (probably that of the Augustales); cf. also Hänlein-Schäfer (above n. 33), 267 (under the title "Hypothetische Augustustempel"). Degrassi's argument was questioned by D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II.1, Leiden 1991, 490 n. 92. A *supplicatio Vestae* seems to be attested also in the *feriale Amerinum* for 6 November, perhaps celebrating the birthday of the Younger Agrippina (*Inscr.It.* XIII,2, 281 no. 45, line 5). Interestingly, a papyrus from Tebtunis, written under Marcus Aurelius (*P.Osl.* 3,45 ff. no. 77), records the birthday of Vesta on 11 December among those of the members of the Imperial house. The birthday of Hestia Prytanitis was also registered at Naucratis (Athen. 4,149 D, cf. Fishwick, op. cit. II 493) which may point to a local feast. What relation, if any, this has with the fact that, according to the *menologia rustica*, the month of December was *in tutela Vestae*, is unknown.

72 Fishwick (above n. 71), II 490 ff. Whether some features of the calendar (e.g. Augustus paralleled with Iuppiter Sempiternus) should be explained as influenced by Greek practice, is questionable (see, however, G. Freyburger, in: *ANRW* II:16,2 [1978] 1436).

73 *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 4,2.

74 *F. Arv.* (*Inscr.It.* XIII,2,33) and *F. Amitern.* (ibid. 193): *Feriae et supplicationes ad* (*aput* F. Amitern.) *omnia pulvinaria*, etc.

75 Dio 54,8,3, cf. Rich (above n. 56), 76.

76 *IG* II^2 1071 with G.A. Stamires, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 260 ff. no. 98 (= *SEG* 17 [1960] 34); M.C. Hoff, *MH* 49 (1992) 230 f.; Mavrojannis (above n. 26), 92 f. (especially on the association of Augustus' birthday with that of Apollo). The honours were probably decreed on the proposal of Antipatros son of

happened on the Acropolis, they would have included general participation and the offering of incense and wine, sometimes animal sacrifices (which were particularly important in Greece).[77] However, the exact nature of the rites remains obscure, for they could have been Greek rather than Roman, or perhaps they overlapped. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that Roman ritual practice could also be imported and applied in the Greek-speaking East.[78]

If the presence of a cult of Roma and Augustus in the rear of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora is uncertain, perhaps even unlikely,[79] there is another building in the Agora that deserves to be mentioned in this context, namely the fifth-century Temple of Ares that had been dismantled and transferred to the Market, perhaps from the god's sanctury in the deme of Acharnai.[80] The removal occurred in the Augustan age and it seems (on archaeological grounds) that the transplantation to the Agora took place after the construction of Agrippa's Odeion, to which the new temple stood at right angles.[81] The two projects seem to have been conceived during Agrippa's eastern tour between 23 and 13 BC (he may have been in Athens in 16/15 BC and perhaps already in 23/22 BC),[82] though, obviously, the final re-erection of the temple must have taken time and so it may date several years after the dedication of the Odeion in around 15 BC.[83] Many scholars have believed that one of the motives for the transplantation of the Temple of Ares was to

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Antipatros of Phlya during his third hoplite generalship (D.J. Geagan, *AJPh* 100 [1979] 67 ff.). The original collocation of the monument is unknown.

77 For the different roles of sacrificial meat in Greece and Rome, respectively, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 118 f. Note that in the Calendar of Cumae, the only animal sacrifice is attested for Augustus' birthday. The offerings given on other occasions were less sumptuous.

78 Price (above n. 16), 89 f.; Fishwick (above n. 71, vol. II.1), 512 ff. For a recent survey of the organization and procedure of various types of festivities in the eastern Imperial cult, see P. Herz, in: *Römische Reichsreligion* (above n. 34), 241 ff.

79 Cf. H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 171 ff. (who on p. 187 was inclined to think that rather than with Roma, Augustus was worshipped there with some divine personification). The pair of Augustus and Roma has been accepted by Fayer (above n. 23), 147; Hänlein-Schäfer (above n. 33), 159 f.; Torelli (above n. 28), 20 f.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 151. Reservations in Clinton (above n. 39), 168 f., who argues that the annex may have housed the cult of Tiberius and Livia, admitting, however, that there are obstacles to even this hypothesis; Spawforth (above n. 19), 186 and 193 f. also points out that the evidence and its dating are disputable. Hoff (above n. 33), 194 ff. suggests that the primary location of the early imperial cult in the lower city may have been in the Augustan Market (for the Arcuated Building, perhaps Claudian, see Id., *AA* 1994, 114 ff.).

80 The evidence is discussed in Baldassarri (above n. 33), 166 ff. According to K.J. Hartswick, *RA* 1990, 258 ff., the Ares temple that was transferred to the Agora need not originally have been dedicated to Ares, which among other things would explain why a new cult statue had to be created (i.e. the Ares Borghese type), cf. below n. 86.

81 For the plan and its dating, see now, convincingly, Spawforth (above n. 19), 186 ff.; also Torelli (above n. 28), 27.

82 For the (circumstantial) evidence for such visits, see Baldassarri (above n. 33), 30 f.; Halfmann (above n. 46), 163 ff.

83 The date of the Odeion: H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 31 ff.; *Agora* III (1957) 161 f.; ibid. XIV (1972) 111 ff.; R.E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, 216; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 31, 139; Schäfer (above n. 33), 94 f. - W.B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 50 f., proposed a date between 11/10 and 10/9 BC for the transplantation of the Ares Temple; cf. J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (BEFAR 253), Rome 1984, 439.

produce a new setting for the Athenian Imperial cult. This idea is primarily founded on two famous Athenian inscriptions respectively honouring C. Caesar, Augustus' grandson and now his adopted son, as the "New Ares" and, later, Drusus Caesar, Tiberius' son, as the "New God Ares".[84] Both cases can be firmly connected with the eastern missions of the young princes: C. Caesar from 2 BC and Drusus in AD 17-20 (in Illyricum). In Bowersock's opinion, when Gaius (probably) entered Athens in 2 BC, the temple had been moved ("or was conceivably then in the process of being moved") into the Agora; this would have happened in honour of the prince.[85] Recent research, however, seems to suggest that the idea of the transplantation had been conceived much earlier, some time during M. Agrippa's eastern tour, when no one could know anything about Gaius' future command in the East. And since previously Ares had been a minor god in Athens, it would seem that "moving the temple was a centrally inspired project intended chiefly to pay homage to the Roman god of war".[86] This is surely correct: the object of the honouring in Athens was not Ares but the Roman god Mars, whose central position in the Augustan propaganda culminated in Rome in the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Emperor's new forum in 2 BC. Though there was no physical link between the inscription showing Gaius as the "New Ares" and the Agora temple (the former was found in the Theatre of Dionysus, though not *in situ*), still I think Bowersock is right in connecting the two things, for they would have been ideologically associated with each other: the temple had been reconstructed in honour of the Roman Mars (Ultor) and it was only natural that a later and expected arrival of a Roman avenger would be celebrated in Athens by an appellation like the "New Ares".[87] This avenger in the guise of a new Mars happened to be Gaius Caesar. At this point, a brief discussion of the figure of Mars Ultor is appropriate, also because, I believe, the presence of this god in the Augustan Athens is ideologically comparable to that of Vesta on the Acropolis.

The dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BC must have been a major event in Rome in that year. Besides the famous *naumachia* reproducing the victory of the Athenian navy over the Persians,[88] the celebrations included the installation in the temple

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84 Gaius: *IG* II² 3250; Drusus: *IG* II² 3257; G.W. Bowersock, in: F. Millar - E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, Oxford 1984, 173.

85 Bowersock (above n. 84), 173, followed by S. Alcock, *Graecia capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, 195; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 170 f.

86 Spawforth (above n. 19), 188, cf. similarly Burkert (above n. 25), 121; H.A. Thompson, in: S. Macready - F.H. Thompson (eds), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (Soc. Antiquaries London, Occasional Papers N.S. 10), London 1987, 9: "Is it conceivable that Ares was brought into the Agora as an Athenian equivalent of the Roman Mars Ultor?". The influence of Roman ideas was also accepted by B.M. Levick, in: *CAH* X² (1996) 654. That the temple was indeed dedicated to Ares alone seems to emerge from Spawforth's (ibid.) re-reading of *IG* II² 2953. A new earlier date for the temple would undermine the idea of Hartswick (above n. 80), 267 ff., who argued that the cult statue of Ares (which she identified with the youthful Ares Borghese type) should be iconographically associated with the youthfulness of Gaius Caesar (to be correct, this theory would demand that a new cult statue was adopted many years after the dedication of the temple); for further critique on Hartswick's thesis, see P. Bruneau, *BCH* 117 (1993) 402; Schäfer (above n. 33), 98.

87 Bowersock (above n. 84), 173, of course, did not fail to underline the importance of Mars Ultor in Rome in 2 BC and earlier he had already pointed out that the re-erection of the Temple of Ares is not surprising, "since Ares was the Greek counterpart of the Roman Mars, for whom the Emperor had special regard" (*Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, 95). Though found far from the temenos of Ares, the inscription honouring Drusus Caesar as the "New God Ares" (*IG* II² 3257) could also be associated with the temple in ideological terms.

88 Dio 55,10,7; Ov. *ars* 1,171 f., etc. The reference was, of course, to the sea fight of Salamis, and the same is true of the naval battles that were organized in Athens (*IG* II² 1006, 29 f.; A. Chaniotis, in: J.

of the Roman legionary standards which had been in the hands of the Parthians for more than thirty years until they were recovered in 20 BC. This marked the end of a long story of vengeance (though, in reality it was rather an interval, for, as we know, the Parthian problem was still far from solution); it may even be that the idea of Mars avenging on the Parthians the loss of the standards in 53 BC goes back to Julius Caesar, who may have vowed a temple to him if the Parthians were beaten.[89] In any case, after Caesar's death the theme of vengeance was maintained by the triumvirs and it was often recorded by Augustan poets. Mark Antony did not succeed, but Augustus did, though without striking a blow (in 20 BC). This was the justification for Mars to earn his title *Ultor*, and it was only then that the decision to build a temple to the god became fact. In his famous description of the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BC, Ovid reports another possibility for Mars to receive a temple and the epithet *Ultor*: he should stand by the young Caesar and help him avenge the murder of his father, who was *sacerdos Vestae*.[90] This was the message of the famous vow allegedly uttered by Octavian at Philippi in 42 BC. That it was a later invention (created by the Augustan regime) was argued by Weinstock, whose thesis has been followed by a number of scholars.[91] In any case, the vengeance on behalf of Vesta's priest implies avenging Vesta herself and thus the Roman nation as a whole.[92]

In 19 BC, following Augustus' diplomatic success, the recovered standards were to be deposited in a round temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol (it is only then that the epithet *Ultor* is attested for the god).[93] However, as we have seen, the Capitoline project was rejected soon after and it was decided to build a temple to the god in a new forum. Why the plan was changed and when exactly the construction work of the forum temple was begun is difficult to say, yet the recent study by Martin Spannagel gives reason to believe that the building was launched in 17 BC, i.e. the year of the adoption of the princes Gaius and Lucius and the Ludi saeculares, respectively. He argues, moreover, that while the never-built Ultor temple on the Capitol was only intended to house the standards (a

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Assmann [ed.], *Das Fest und das Heilige* [Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen 1], Gütersloh 1991, 124, 130).

89 The planned temple of Mars: Suet. *Iul.* 44,1. See S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1971, 130 ff.; Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 98. It is highly questionable, however, whether Caesar had already thought of the title *Ultor* (which is not attested before the recovery of the standards), cf. Spannagel (above n. 56), 75.

90 Ov. *fast.* 5,573 ff.: *"Si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos / auctor et ulcisci numen utrumque paro, / Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum / stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus. / Templa feres et me victore vocaberis Ultor". / Voverat et fuso laetus ab hoste redit.* For the retrojection of the idea of Pontifex Maximus as Vesta's priest to Julius Caesar, see Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 70 f. The vow is also reported by Suet. *Aug.* 29,2 (as justification for the temple).

91 Weinstock (above n. 89), 128 ff.; Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 98; Spannagel (above n. 56), 73 ff. (modifying some of Weinstock's weaker arguments). As for the date of the vow, one cannot agree with Herbert-Brown 98 ff. when she maintains that Ovid's reference to *sacerdos Vestae* shows that the vow dates only from 12 BC or later, after Augustus as Pontifex Maximus had annexed Vesta to his own *domus*. In her opinion, Mars could have become the avenger of Caesar only after 12 BC, perhaps as late as AD 4 or 6 (p. 107: "during a possible upsurge of popularity for the memory of Julius"), but cf. R.A. Gurval, *MAAR* 42 (1997) 69 n. 120; Spannagel (above n. 56), 74 n. 383; 207 n. 788.

92 The theme reappears in Ov. *fast.* 3,697 ff., see Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 125 ff.

93 For the coinage of 19 BC with *Mars Ultor* and other legends referring to the recovery of the standards, see Spannagel (above n. 56), 62 f.; cf. also R.A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, Ann Arbor 1995, 281 ff.

vengeance on the Parthians), the new temple of the forum was to be given to Mars Ultor as the avenger of Caesar as well.[94]

As we have seen, the recovery of Crassus' standards was also the primary motive for the erection of the Acropolis monopteros. Probably around the same time the decision was made in Athens to transplant the old Temple of Ares to the Agora and the ideological reason for this operation would have been the same, that is, vengeance on the Parthians and the recovery of the standards whereby the god could earn his title of Avenger.[95] Since, it seems, the re-erection of the Ares temple dates after the construction of the Odeion (which may have been finished by 16/15 BC), the possibility cannot be excluded that the entrance of Mars was roughly contemporaneous with the institution of Vesta's cult on the Acropolis. In any case, if the remounting of the Agora temple was still going on in or around 12 BC (it was surely not a minor operation; see above n. 83), the work was apparently completed well before there was certainty about the name of the "New Mars". In 6 BC it was intended that Tiberius should go to the East to negotiate with the Parthians, but he mysteriously retired to the island of Rhodes and so, after the expiry of his five-year tribunician power in 2 BC, Gaius Caesar was dispatched on his eastern mission: he would be the avenger of Crassus and he was to be the new Mars. His departure from Rome appears to have been intended as a justification for the revenge to be exacted, though in reality Gaius' mission, propagated by Augustus and his regime, was by nature ceremonial, for in that year the Parthian problem was by no means imminent.[96] One cannot claim, however, that the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor would have been deliberately delayed in expectation of Gaius' forthcoming Parthian campaign.[97] The construction work, of course, took time (there is ample evidence for similar projects taking even decades for construction) and there were other reasons for the dedication to take place in 2 BC: Augustus, who became *pater patriae* in that year, took the consulship and introduced Lucius Caesar (born 17 BC) into public life. Both princes figured as official dedicators on 12 May, perhaps the anniversary of their adoption, and they were also conspicuously present in the architecture and imagery of the whole forum.[98] It is true that Gaius' eastern mission was also ideologically connected with the dedication of the temple, but like the Augustan *naumachia* (see n. 88), it was fitted together with that occasion, not the other way around. This does not mean, however, that the idea of a mission of Gaius could not have been conceived earlier.[99] Whenever it arose, it probably postdates the building of the Temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora.

Though the donor of the transplanted Temple of Ares is nowhere recorded, there is little doubt that this enterprise followed the construction of the Odeion and was part of a single plan orchestrated by Agrippa, the Emperor's agent in the East. It is a justifiable assumption that Agrippa was backed by Pammenes, the first Athenian priest of Roma and Augustus, who may have been his client and who was certainly closely tied to the Roman

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94 Spannagel (above n. 56), 64, 69, 84, 254 f., 360. On p. 84 he also points out that Divus Iulius began to appear on coins in 17 BC, which may not be a mere coincidence.

95 Cf. also Schäfer (above n. 33), 95: "vielleicht ist der Plan dazu bereits im Jahre 19 v. Chr. entstanden".

96 R. Syme, *History in Ovid*, Oxford 1978, 8 ff.

97 Thus Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 100 ff. (esp. 106).

98 See now, in detail, Spannagel (above n. 56), 21-59, also showing definitively that 12 May cannot have been the anniversary of the recovery of the standards from the Parthians.

99 Spannagel (above n. 56), 27, arguing that Gaius was intended to be the first to follow the new practice (cf. Dio 55,10,2 ff.) according to which the Roman commander should start his mission from the Temple of Mars Ultor.

authorites in Athens. And just as Pammenes would have acted as the spokesman for the Athenians when the erection of a shrine to Roma and Augustus attained greater actuality in 20 BC - perhaps he even arranged the execution of the project - so it was probably Agrippa who saw that everything was done in conformity to the Imperial propaganda. This was true not only politically but also in terms of art and decoration: the architect of the monopteros may have been a certain Diogenes, who was responsible for part of the decoration of Agrippa's Pantheon in Rome.[100] Besides the intentional axial alignment with the Parthenon (see above), the round building also shows some elements which are compatible with the idea of the classical polis in Augustus' moral propaganda:[101] classic Pentelic marble, columns imitating those of the Erechtheum, and a block of the Erechtheum built into its foundation.[102]

The presence of Vesta in Athens may seem peculiar, as she already resided in the Forum Romanum, but in view of what was done with the Temple of Ares in order to praise Mars Ultor in Athens, the itineracy of the goddess becomes more understandable. Vesta's cult was also reproduced on the Palatine (with at least an altar and a cult statue). However, this surely did not mean abolishing in any detail the ancient rites of the round temple after 12 BC. Everything went on as before with the Palladium and the eternal fire being protected by the Vestals. A definitive transferral of the cult with the *pignora* and *sacra* from the very ancient and sacred location would have been a most hazardous and imprudent, even sacrilegious, undertaking. It has been argued recently that the fire of Vesta was also brought to the Temple of Mars Ultor. However, even if such a connection is perfectly apposite in ideological terms under Augustus, and it would certainly support the argument of this paper, the evidence for a partial transferral of Vesta's cult to the Forum Augustum remains strongly conjectural.[103]

Vesta may have been brought to the Acropolis in 12 BC and her cult most probably was observed in the monopteros. Agrippa died on 12 March 12, too early to be the agent of the transfer,[104] but whoever took care of the reproduction of Vesta's cult in

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100 Hänlein-Schäfer (above n. 33), 96 f.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 62 f.

101 Cf. S. Walker, in: *The Romanization of Athens* (above n. 19), 72.

102 Hurwit (above n. 30), 280.

103 P. Herz, in: J. Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel auf dem Augustusforum in Rom* (DAI, Sonderschriften, Bd. 11), Mainz am Rh. 1996, 268 f. This hypothesis is based on the interpretation of the word μέγαρον in Dio 55,10,6 not only as cella (thus already G. Alföldy, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma* [Vetera 8], Roma 1992, 28; for Dio's passage, cf. now in detail Spannagel [above n. 56], 38 ff.: in his opinion, μέγαρον probably refers to the so-called Sala del Colosso outside of the temple, which housed the colossal statue of Divus Julius) but a cella with a fire or hearth. Herz believes that Vesta's fire was represented by a tripod which, according to Ganzert, was placed in the middle of the cella (ibid. p. 200: Cipollino-Dreifussplinthe; 291). However, if there really was a tripod in the cella, it must have been a victory monument with obvious associations with Apollo (for tripods heralding Augustus' victories at Actium and over the Parthians, see Schneider [above n. 46], 61 ff.; Schäfer [above n. 33], 67 ff.). As far as I know, Vesta's fire was not associated with the tripod. - M. Siebler, *Studien zum augusteischen Mars Ultor* (Münchener Arbeiten z. Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie 1), München 1988, 66 ff. claimed that the motive of a 'candelabrum between two griffins' represented on the cuirass of the cult statue of Mars Ultor refers to the fire of Vesta being protected by the griffins ("die die Bewachung des Vestafeuers durch Mars symbolisieren", p. 69 n. 404). In my opinion, the griffins rather associate with the notion of vengeance, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 34 (2000), forthcoming, which does not undermine the fact that Mars and Vesta had a lot in common in Augustan propaganda (note, by the way, that Ov. *fast.* 6,465 ff. made Vesta praise the future avenger of the Parthians).

104 But he may have been organizing the affair in advance, considering that the (probably) preceding events of spring 12 BC in Rome (Augustus becoming *pontifex maximus* and the subsequent reproduction of Vesta's cult on the Palatine) must have been planned early enough.

Athens, it was the Augustan policy that gave Vesta, protectress of Rome and guarantor of its power, a symbolic place on the Acropolis beside Athena, the ancient guardian of her citadel. So, in a way, Vesta made a visit to her roots and the local *hestia* would have been kept warm in expectation of her arrival. There is no way to know how long Vesta resided on the hill. The fact that two of the statues set up for Roman Vestals on the Acropolis (above n. 8) may be Tiberian or later suggests that priestly activity still endured after Augustus' death, and one of the seating inscriptions (*IG* II^2 5145) might well be post-Augustan (above n. 15). The cult of Roma and Augustus (evidently in the monopteros) still had a priest in AD 45/6.[105] After the reorganization of the Athenian Imperial cult (probably) under Claudius,[106] the monopteros may have housed the collective cult of the *Sebastoi*, though there is no way to prove this.[107] Should this be the case, Vesta may still have been worshipped in the company of later emperors, though her propagandistic role surely was no longer what it had been under Augustus. At all events, the building itself cannot have been left empty and so the most plausible assumption remains that it continued to serve for the Imperial cult; for how long, we have no means of telling. The monopteros is represented on Athenian bronze coins from the third century AD.[108] What actually happened there in those times is beyond our knowledge.

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105 *IG* II^2 3242 (rededication of the fifth-century Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous to Livia after her death, cf. M.M. Miles, *Hesperia* 58 [1989] 236 ff.); for the historical and ideological context, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 34 (2000), forthcoming.

106 Spawforth (above n. 19), 188 ff.

107 It would be tempting to assume a connection between the temple and "the altar of the *Sebastoi* on the Acropolis" recorded in the Severan inscription *IG* II^2 1076, lines 38 f. (cf. *SEG* 34 [1984] 184 and 37 [1987] 97). Unfortunately, however, the location of such an altar cannot be identified (though Premerstein thought of a place some 15 metres northeast of the monopteros). The inscription itself tells about extraordinary honours to Julia Domna (e.g. a golden statue of her within the Parthenon and another one beside the ancient cult image of Athena Polias in the Erechtheion).

108 *BMC* Attica nos. 801 ff.; J.M. Svoronos - B. Pick, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, München 1924, tab. 98, nos. 19 ff.; recent discussion in Hoff (above n. 33), 186 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 46 f.

Fig. 1. The Acropolis in the second century AD. From Travlos (above n. 33), 71 fig. 91.

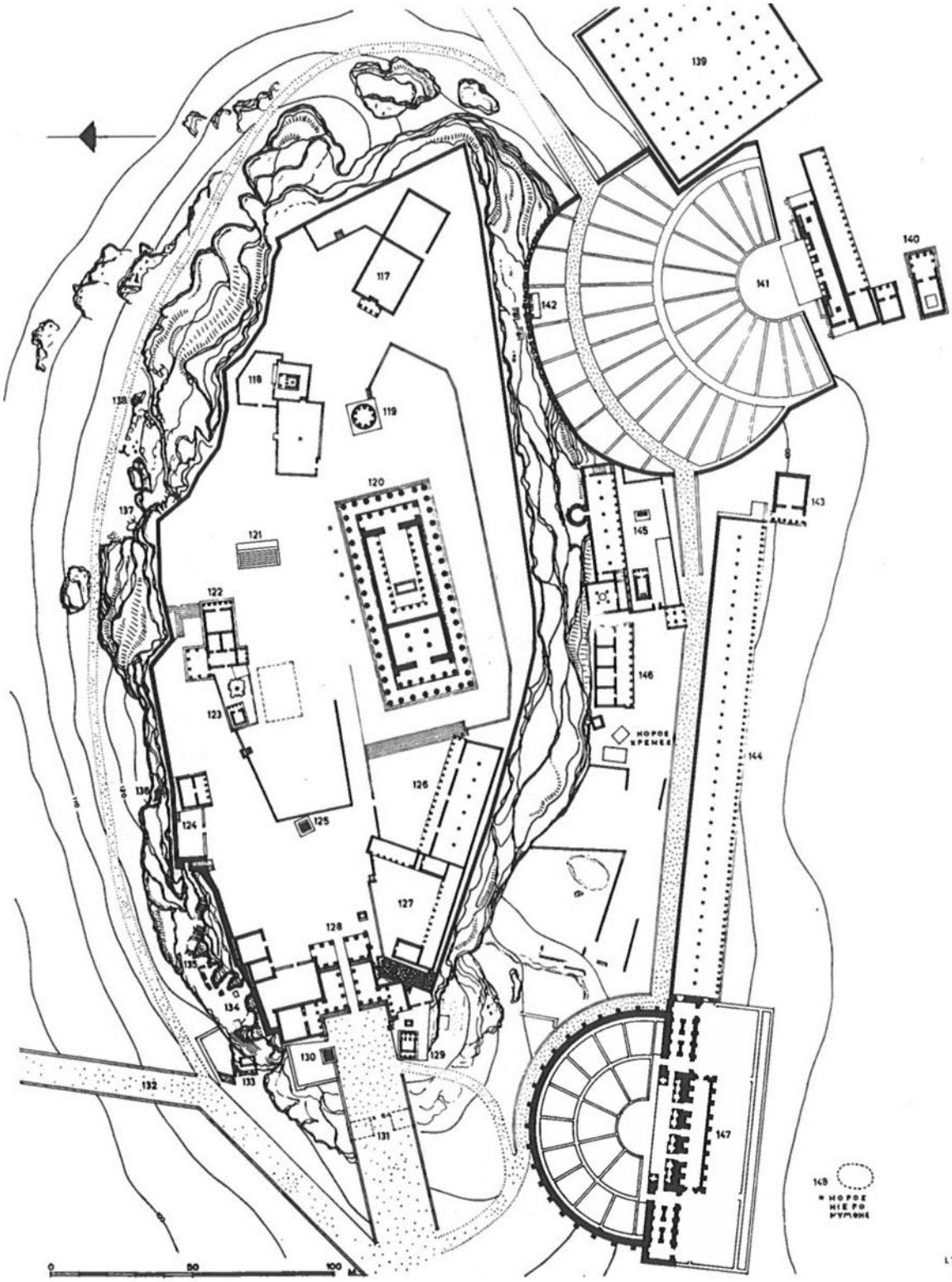

Fig. 2. Temple of Roma and Augustus and the Parthenon. After Hoff (above n. 33), 187.